THE Nation

April 3, 1954
20¢

Portrait of an Informer

by Louise Fargo Brown

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Export—and Die — *Claudio Veliz*

Kashani of Iran — *Dan Kurzman*

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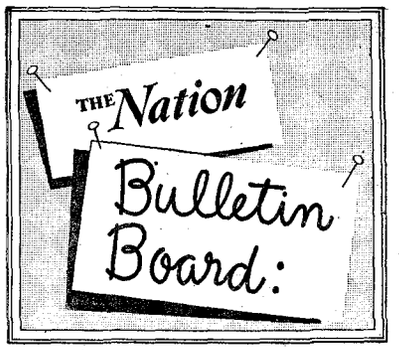

APROPOS of what people are doing about McCarthyism: Professor Walter Landauer of the University of Connecticut sends a statement signed by thirty-nine residents of Mansfield, testifying to their belief in former Senator Benton's charges against McCarthy. (You will recall McCarthy dropped his libel suit against Benton, explaining that nobody believe the charges anyhow.) The statement was published in the local papers.

Eric Sander writes (tongue in cheek) that "this man is growing too big for us to fight. And if you can't fight a man why not join him. . . . In fact, wouldn't it be wonderful if Joe would be crowned Führer of our country." Sander suggests nation-wide distribution of "McCarthy for Führer" buttons. Anyone interested should write him at 1109 South Forty-seventh Street, West Milwaukee 14, Wisconsin.

Other McCarthy actions noted: a petition calling for an inquiry into the funds made available to McCarthy has been initiated by a New Canaan, Connecticut, housewife, Mrs. James G. Rogers, Jr., and circulated in eighteen states. A second petition attacking the irresponsibility of Congressional committees, notably McCarthy's, and calling on the President and others to speak out against McCarthy and his methods has been initiated by Bryan Hamlin, an attorney of Bridgehampton, Long Island (N. Y.), and Edward T. Chase of 4 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City.

EDWARD CAMP of Hollis, Long Island, sends six new subscriptions with the observation that while he worked hard to get them "a feeling of satisfaction and accomplishment was the reward." He adds, "If only the many readers of *The Nation* would make a determined effort to get just one subscriber this would greatly increase the ranks of honest liberals in America. And heaven knows we are in great need of more of them!"

If other readers want to match Mr. Camp and help build *The Nation's* circulation, I'll be glad to send them a batch of our special "Arrest McCarthyism" postcards, which contain an offer for new subscribers.

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR H. H. Wilson will speak Friday, April 30, at the opening of the special three-day civil-liberties conference sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee in Cambridge, Massachusetts. . . . Reporter Ralph O'Leary, who wrote Daughters of Vigilantism, published in *The Nation* of January 9, won the 1953 Heywood Broun Award for his series on the Minute Women in The Houston *Post*. . . . S. Lane Faison, Jr., our art critic, was a member of the board of judges of the College Art Association which recently made awards to outstanding newspaper art critics. . . . Joseph Wood Krutch, a regular contributor to the literary section, is in New York this month to lecture at Columbia and to receive the Burroughs medal at the Museum of Natural History. He is also scheduled for an appearance on Mary Margaret McBride's program. . . . Malcolm R. Evans, the Presbyterian minister who wrote the wind-up article in *The Nation's* issue on Protestant social policy last summer, was acclaimed the "outstanding young man of Brooklyn for 1953" by the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce. . . . The National Education Association recommends three *Nation* articles in its current Research Bulletin: Bernard Crick's Eve of Decision, Harold Taylor's The Citizen and the Free School, and Is Youth Liberal? by Paul Breslow and Kent Smitheman.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

McCarthy'll Catch You

Dear Sirs: Hush, little voter, don't you sigh, McCarthy'll catch you a "foreign spy." If the spy doesn't prove so hot, McCarthy'll catch you a "Roo-shun" plot. If the plot won't hold in court, McCarthy'll catch you a Monmouth Fort. If the fort turns out a bore, McCarthy'll catch you a Secretary of War. If the "Sec" calls spade a spade, McCarthy'll catch you a "red blockade." If that too turns out a blight, Joe's still the loudest durn menace in sight.

Los Angeles, Cal. COLTON PICK

The Cadillac Crusade

Dear Sirs: Britain lives by banking and trade; some politicians in Washington live by demagoguery. Little wonder there is a difference of opinion on China policy. If we wish to sacrifice all of our once important China trade to the fetish of Formosa, and thus keep a large number of our merchant vessels rusting at anchor, that is our concern. Britain has other views on the matter.

Now we are about at the end of the first lap of the Cadillac Crusade—and there has been a slight change. The cattle men left their Cadillacs at home, however, and descended upon Washington by bus; doubtless they were afraid to risk their Cadillacs and shirts at the same time. Mr. Durkin didn't last long around Washington—must have been a Chrysler man.

With the staid economists of yesteryear now unabashedly espousing currency inflation and other such genteel forms of theft, we are undoubtedly in for some weird miracles of high finance. They did find a sound-money Republican in Washington the other day, though. He was in the Smithsonian Institute—standing between the pithecanthropus and the dodo. No, he wasn't stuffed. He had a hungry look on his face.

Prices all moving in one direction: up. So, anyone now thinking about acquiring a sweet little spouse and conspicuous consumer had better acquire a bank first —a big one, too.

C. V. BAKER

Norfolk Va.

That G. O. P. Score

Dear Sirs: Have belatedly run across Here's the Score by Harry Levine in your January 16 issue. It is a fine job of fill-in for some of us who are trying to keep track at long range of the great G. O. P. give-away. Tell Mr. Levine to keep track of corporate tax refunds, too. They ran $1,165,000,000 the first year, according to Bob Allen's syndicated column.

Peninsula, Ohio ROBERT BORDNER

Honoring Dr. Fritchman

Dear Sirs: Your California readers will be interested to know that the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, pastor of the First Unitarian Church and president of the Community Medical Foundation, which operates a low-cost interracial clinic, is to be given a testimonial dinner on Saturday, April 10, at the Park Manor in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles, Cal. VERN PARTLOW

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

E. D. C. and East Germany

France has finally withdrawn its objections to the "rearmament amendment" of the Bonn constitution, and with the blessings of the three Western High Commissioners, Chancellor Adenauer can see the dawn of a new German army. But France's blessing, be it said, had more the character of a malediction. Infuriated by the fuss raised in Bonn about French reluctance to permit the goose-step once more on European soil, Paris papers are pointing out that what the Western Germans disdained as mere "juridical" objections was really the voice of millions of Frenchmen killed by Germans in three wars. The incident has left a good deal of irritation in both capitals.

Nevertheless, Washington welcomed French final acquiescence, which means that Dr. Theodor Heuss, President of the Bonn Republic, is constitutionally authorized to sign the ratification instruments of the E. D. C. and the Bonn peace contract with the Allies. American diplomacy is now aimed at bringing Paris and Bonn together on the Saar problem to clear the way for French parliamentary debate on E. D. C. before the Geneva conference. Meanwhile French debate on E. D. C. still rages. Former Socialist Premier Felix Gouin has warned the Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee that unless E. D. C. is ratified France may end up as part of the Soviet-controlled area of Europe. On the other hand former Defense Minister Jules Moch, also a Socialist, has warned that ratification will mean that France may end up under the German sword.

The controversy acquired new impetus with the Soviet government's announcement that East Germany has become a "sovereign" state. Washington called the development "sheer façade"; Europe viewed it with greater concern. In itself the move was the inevitable outcome of the failure to reach major agreement at Berlin. It is unlikely to change the East German administrative picture, except to give the present German Communist regime added prestige. And, despite Russian claims, it is likely to increase rather than decrease the possibilities for German unification.

Yet the step will certainly provide Moscow with a new propaganda weapon. With Gallic flamboyance, the *Pariser Presse* commented that the Russians have again taken the West by surprise and have "killed three birds with one stone"—that is, the Western Big Three. The West countered quickly. Within forty-eight hours of the Moscow announcement, United States High Commissioner Conant was telling the West Germans that they too would be awarded sovereignty "very soon."

The Spread of Violence

The growth of Middle Eastern tension accurately reflects the deterioration in the United Nations. In this instance the difficulty arises from the Big Three's unwillingness to abandon Arab appeasement in favor of a firm policy aimed at establishing regional peace. The Big Three wasted not a moment in acting after the Kibya tragedy: Israel was condemned before the ink was dry on newspaper headlines, the Security Council was summoned, and the United States withdrew economic aid from Israel even before the Mixed Armistice Commission reached a decision. But today, following the Scorpion Pass tragedy which cost the lives of eleven Israelis, condemnation is dilatory, Arabs and Israelis alike—the Big Three would not dream of discriminating—are blandly told to "keep cool," and the U. N. has failed to initiate any action to deal with the situation on any fundamental level.

Secretary General Hammerskjold has added to the U. N.'s paralysis by accepting Jordan's refusal to discuss the border situation with Israel, and by announcing that he would pursue the matter no farther for the present. But under Article 12 of the Jordan-Israel armistice agreement, convocation of a conference is mandatory if one of the two principals requests it. Israel asked for such a conference two months ago; the Secretary General, instead of ordering it to take place, "negotiated" with Jordan, and now he has accepted "no" for an answer where the only answer he can accept under the terms of the U. N. truce agreement is "yes."

Naturally the Arabs interpret all this to mean that neither the Western powers nor the U. N. Secretariat is ready to force the issue of peace talks. Their view has been encouraged by the U. N.'s refusal to call for peace discussions after the Kibya incident and by the persistence with which the United States is continuing its behind-the-scenes offers of arms.

Since last September the U. N. has been debating a series of complaints on the Palestine situation growing

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by an Unknown Artist

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out of the lack of a peace settlement. Endless time, energy, and money have been expended fruitlessly. Yet the fact is that in the face of a determined insistence by the Security Council, it would be very difficult indeed for any U. N. member state to refuse to discuss peace. Once such a discussion took place, it is certain that practical results would emerge. When will the U. N. evince its determination to produce such discussions?

Step by Step

It seems obvious that Washington would prefer to settle the Indo-China war on the battlefield rather than at Geneva. Shortly after the United States announced last week that it would send more planes to the beleaguered French plus a general to help train France's native army, the New York *Times* reported that the State Department intended to "play down" Geneva—even to the point, perhaps, of letting Under Secretary Walter Bedell Smith do the talking there instead of Secretary Dulles. These developments must be judged against the ominous background of our "massive retaliation" policy, aimed at Peking as much as Moscow. Presumably Chinese intervention in the Indo-Chinese war would justify such retaliation. But how much intervention? An infantry platoon? A company? An army corps? An air squadron? And whose word will be taken as to the fact, let alone the extent, of such intervention? On this point the Washington *Post* remarks editorially: "There can be no dependable report unless there is a U. N. peace observation commission on the spot."

But of course, as Mr. del Vayo points out elsewhere, no one is asking the U. N. to do anything any more. As for the rest, it would seem that barely seven months after we got out of one war, we are insinuating ourselves, step by step, into another.

Via Oviciptum Dura Est

In his recent Godkin lectures at Harvard—established in 1903 in memory of E. L. Godkin, founder and first editor of *The Nation*—Adlai E. Stevenson once again talked sense to the American people. The lectures were a plea for political moderation, at home and abroad. Since freedom is the reward of responsibility, he said, America cannot be free until it accepts the new responsibilities that have been thrust upon it. "Loud, loose tongues," at a time when the world is "all on the same wave length and everyone is listening," will not help us win this freedom. A revolution of rising expectations is under way throughout the world; millions are seeking to telescope centuries of change into decades. A policy based on "anti-communism" and military potency runs counter to this drive and will "win few hearts." We must have a "reasoned policy" with respect to China and all other countries. That is, we must identify ourselves with

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this revolution and guide it into paths that lead to freedom; there is no other way of coping with it.

The problems which this revolution creates would be with us if Russia and communism did not exist; Mr. Stevenson emphasized; they simply complicate our problem of learning how to cooperate with a revolution. But we should consider ourselves "fortunate," in this atomic age, that it is bolshevism rather than Nazism with which we must contend. The Soviet regime has been in power thirty-five years; its revolutionaries have turned cautious, if not conservative. Now that a balance of power has been achieved, the time for negotiation is at hand. Our goal is neither war nor victory but the opportunity "for all to work out their own destiny in their own way in independence and freedom."

All this, we should say, is very much in keeping with the liberal rationalism of E. L. Godkin and the policies for which *The Nation* he founded has been raising its voice once a week during these troubled post-war years. We will concede that Mr. Stevenson said it better, but we have said it oftener, and we began saying it much earlier. As veterans of the struggle for a "reasoned" policy for America, we carry scars which testify to the truth of the classic words of Horace quoted by Mr. Stevenson at Harvard—"Via oviciptum dura est"—which he translated, for the benefit of the undergraduates, as "the way of the egghead is hard."

Spring Tonic for the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

EXCEPT for Security Council matters, Geneva is gradually replacing New York as a center of international interest and negotiation. There the U. N. is a living organization. The current Geneva sessions of the Economic Commission for Europe, for example, are attracting more international attention than the Trusteeship Council meetings here. Geneva's importance will be further heightened when the conference on Korea and Indo-China opens there on April 26.

Last week I attended Secretary General Hammerskjold's press conference. Mr. Hammerskjold has certainly mastered the subtle art of evading issues without seeming to do so. It is an intellectual pleasure to listen to him, even if important matters remain unclarified. But the strengthening of the United Nations requires more than tact; it requires political courage and a vigorous drive for the objectives which the organization was created to attain.

Henri Laugier of France, former Assistant Secretary General in Charge of Social Affairs, is examining the causes of the U. N.'s present anemia in a book soon to be published in Paris. Since his resignation from his post about two years ago, M. Laugier has been determined to help the U. N. recover the prestige it enjoyed in its early years. His evaluation of his former superior, Trygve Lie, has long been an open secret, but he is too farseeing and objective to limit his present work to Lie's uninspired record in office.

Laugier notes with sadness that the issues on which world interest is rightfully centered have all moved out of the U. N.'s orbit. Germany, the principal problem of Europe, is discussed at Berlin; Korea and the growing crisis in Indo-China will be debated in a U. N. building at Geneva but quite outside the U. N. machinery; the H-bomb, whose incalculable force as demonstrated in the March 1 explosion has aroused world fear on many scores, not least because it may have strengthened the anti-negotiation elements in the United States, is not on the U. N. agenda. No one even dreams of raising the question there. Instead, the worried British turn again to Churchill, asking him to seek a Big Three parley aimed at banning atomic weapons.

ALL THIS is well known, of course. But it is of supreme importance to point out the primary cause of the paralysis which has seized the institution whose *raison d'être* is the maintenance of peace. Laugier has a name for it—"the diplomacy of subterfuge." In his book he denounces the U. N.'s "evasion of the most popular issues"—an evasion largely inspired by fear of incurring the displeasure of its host country.

A contributing factor has been the witch hunt here, which has destroyed much of the initiative and spirit of independence of the secretariat. M. Laugier comes out strongly in defense of the international character of the U. N. staff. He denies to any power, no matter how large its financial contribution to the organization's treasury, the right to impose repressive measures more characteristic of a police state than of a democracy. The staff personnel problem, so explosive in the last year of Trygve Lie's tenure, may seem quiescent now. Yet the fact that only a fortnight ago David Leff, a staff member of UNESCO in Paris, was ordered by his director general to return to New York to appear before a federal court, should indicate that the witch hunt in the United Nations is far from over. So long as the staff is condemned to perform merely as robots or bureaucratic functionaries, the U. N. must continue to lose influence and is likely to wind up as a collection of specialized agencies doing useful but peripheral work.

Of course the friends of the U. N. have by no means lost hope in it. Even "peripheral" issues, if fought for with courage and determination, can lead ultimately to the solution of one or another of the major problems facing the world. Thus the Economic and Social Council, which opens its annual session here on April 3, will deal among other things with East-West trade. If my information is correct, the Russians propose to take advantage

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of the growing interest in the issue on the part of almost all Western Europe and Latin America to press for important decisions. In the opinion of many persons the lowering of East-West trade barriers appears to be the only practical alternative, at the moment, to a continued perilous arms race.

If ECOSOC can come up with constructive agreements on this important issue, everyone at the U. N.—the secretariat, the member states, and the correspondents—will have reason to congratulate themselves. Never before has the U. N. been in such great need of a spring tonic.

PORTRAIT OF AN INFORMER

A 17th Century Moral . . *by Louise Fargo Brown*

[*Here is an early chapter in the long and dishonorable history of the professional informer. The latest chapter, covering the situation in the United States today, will appear in an early issue of* The Nation *as a special supplement.*]

INFORMERS crop up when populations are in the grip of fear, and they are all fundamentally alike. Titus Oates, who invented the Popish Plot, can serve as the model.

Londoners who were on the streets on the nights of September 28 and 29, 1678, saw a strange little procession. It was headed by a short, squat man in clerical dress. So low was his large head set on his heavy shoulders that he seemed to have no neck. The flaring torches carried by his escorts brought out his enormous chin, the mouth that was like a gash across his face, the long pointed nose, low forehead, and small sunken eyes. Behind him trailed a motley crew of constables and serving men, dragging along their unhappy prisoners. When a few nights later the little company reappeared, cheering crowds greeted them. The news had leaked out that the leader was Titus Oates, said to be a doctor of divinity, and that he had revealed to the Privy Council a terrible plot of the Papists to murder the King, burn London, and cut the throats of all loyal folk. Immediately the populace was in the grip of fear.

Fear could be worked up practically overnight when Charles II ruled England, for the majority of the people thought the Roman Catholics believed arson and murder were justified in the cause of religion. Ordinarily Protestants ate, drank, and made merry with their Catholic neighbors, but the celebration of Guy Fawkes Day annually reminded them of the Papists' latent capacity to toy with gunpowder and when Londoners walked along the Strand the monument to the Great Fire suggested a Papist tendency toward arson. Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" supplied reminders of how Papists could treat those they thought heretics. In the fall of 1678 the public was especially uneasy because of the King's attempts to make the only legal form of worship that of the Church of England. His efforts were foiled largely by the Protestant Dissenters, the most avid readers of Foxe's "Martyrs," who refused to accept toleration if they had to take it along with the Papists. The Dissenters were much more afraid of "Popery" than were the Anglicans, whom they considered fellow-travelers.

When the heir to the throne, Charles's brother, who later became James II, announced his conversion, which meant a Popish king on Charles's death, the atmosphere became tense. People began to wonder whether their neighbors were thinking "un-English" thoughts or engaging in "un-English" activities.

Titus Oates was a clergyman's son. Exposed to education in several famous schools and colleges, he was promptly expelled from one after the other. He acquired the reputation of a dunce, a liar, a scoundrel, and a cheat but succeeded in taking holy orders. He committed perjury but when indicted escaped prosecution. He was thrown into prison for accusing a schoolmaster of indecent behavior with his pupils. He escaped and soon lost a chaplaincy in the navy for the kind of misbehavior he had attributed to the schoolmaster. Then he fell among priests and announced himself a Roman Catholic. Having expressed a desire to become a Jesuit, he was admitted to a training school in Spain. Expelled from this institution, he attended the Jesuit school of St. Omers in France. Here he later claimed to have obtained knowledge of the secret plans of the Jesuits regarding England. Expelled in due course, he returned to England, announced that he had finished with Roman Catholicism, and asked a clerical friend to advise him on the best way to make use of his talents. His advisers suggested he hunt down Catholics, and he set to work at once.

WITH the aid of his clerical friend Titus Oates drew up an elaborate account of a plot for the conquest of the British Isles, supposedly devised by the Pope and handed over to the Jesuits for elaboration and execution. It involved stirring up rebellions in Ireland and Scotland and fomenting discontent in England through the dislocation of trade and the spread of disloyal ideas by Jesuits planted everywhere as secret agents. The plotters were to proceed to the murder of Charles, the blowing up of Parliament House, the burning of London and other towns, and the murder of Englishmen in their beds.

This fantastic story was brought to the attention of the government by forged letters and other trickery, and

LOUISE FARGO BROWN, professor emeritus of history of Vassar College, is the author of "First Earl of Shaftesbury," "Freedom of the Seas," and other books.

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Oates was summoned before the Privy Council, put under oath, and bidden to Tell All. But it was never Oates's policy to Tell All. He always handed out an effective story but left details to be filled in later, as his fancy might dictate. What he told the Privy Council was that two Jesuits had agreed to shoot the King with silver bullets in St. James's Park, that two monks and four Irish ruffians had been paid to stab him at Windsor, that the Queen's physician had accepted the first instalment of a bribe to put poison in his posset at Whitehall. A third Jesuit had an especially long knife ready if all the other plans failed.

After hearing these generous provisions for doing away with their sovereign the Council gave Oates the congenial duty of directing the arrest of the plotters. One of the Jesuits had saved Oates from starvation not long before, so he could easily be found. With the other accused men he was in Newgate by dawn, and none of them left it except for trial and execution. The nocturnal arrests made Oates the object of popular acclaim. He was the savior of the nation! Letters to well-known persons found in the lodgings of one of the accused were interpreted to confirm Oates's revelations. It was said, "One might now have denied Christ with less contest than the plot."

However, Charles II, a shrewd judge of men, demanded proof of these charges against men of blameless reputation. Oates began to eat his words, and the King trapped him in several contradictions. "He is a lying rogue," the King told the Council. But the councilors were carried away by the informer's histrionics and soon saw proof of his veracity in the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a London magistrate before whom Oates had sworn to the truth of his depositions. A cry rose that the Papists had murdered Godfrey in order to destroy Oates's depositions. Oates now added several other innocent men to his list of conspirators.

Parliament met directly after the Godfrey murder and appointed committees of inquiry to investigate the plot and the murder, to find out whether the successors of Guy Fawkes had easy access to the cellars of the Parliament building, and to ask a certain Catholic fireworks maker whether he was perhaps making explosives. But no committee was appointed to inquire into the record of Titus Oates. Oates had gained that curious immunity that comes to turncoats in seasons of widespread fear. A renegade is always considered worthy of confidence even if he admits that he still perjures himself on occasion. Titus of course made no such admission. He had the informer's habit of dwelling on his intimacy with the men he accused, and if he failed to recognize one of these men when confronted with him, he either produced some smooth explanation or diverted the attention of the investigators by other revelations.

England's new favorite was given a salary, lodged in the palace of Whitehall to protect him from vengeful Papists, and invited to preach in any church he chose. As if he were royalty, gentlemen helped him dress. Great lords put their carriages at his disposal. He gobbled food at the tables of proud prelates. He referred to the King and his brother as Charles and James. There was policy behind these courtesies, for anyone who ventured to differ with him was promptly called a Papist or accused of dealings with Papists. One day when he was dining with a bishop he spoke disrespectfully of the Queen, and none of the personages who were his fellow-guests disputed him, "for fear of being drawn into the Popish Plot."

THAT Oates should become involved in party politics was inevitable. Since the chief aim of the opposition was to secure the Protestant succession to the throne, Popish plots and murders were its dish. In the courts which tried Oates's victims their guilt was assured unless they could prove themselves innocent. They were denied counsel, were not confronted by their accusers, were not informed in advance what were the specific charges against them. Judges talked truculently to defendants and witnesses and admitted as evidence hearsay, unsupported rumor, and imputations of guilt by association. When charging juries they implied that Papists were ready to resort to violence. Lord Chief Justice Scroggs indicated to juries that Oates had his complete confidence and that he believed the testimony of Papists to be unreliable.

The lot of Catholics in the days of Titus's glory was not a happy one. For

Titus Oates

generations it had been understood that the severe laws against them would not be enforced except in a state of emergency. When Oates invented the emergency, full enforcement was ordered, and new measures were enacted to help in ferreting out crypto-Catholics. All over England houses were searched for arms and for priests, and many of the houses were wrecked. Businesses were ruined. The prisons were filled with teachers, attorneys, and civil employees who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Militia patrolled the city streets nightly to prevent the arson and massacre the people expected to begin at any time.

For eight months, in this atmosphere of terror, the men accused by Oates were regularly convicted and executed. In due course Oates was emboldened to denounce the Queen before the House of Commons as a party to the plan to murder her husband. Thereupon the King threw him into prison, but released him when the House of Commons remonstrated.

At this point the smooth-running trial-to-prison-to-gallows process began to creak, probably because of a hint from the King. Scroggs's tone changed at the trial of the Queen's physician. When a Protestant witness produced documentary evidence that the testimony of Oates contradicted his former statements before the Privy Council, the Lord Chief Justice gave Oates a terrific tongue-lashing and charged the jury so moderately that it found the physician and those being tried with him not guilty. This departure from established procedure infuriated the mob. It called

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Scroggs a bribe-taker, and Oates brought charges against him and tried to have him impeached. Scroggs, however, made short work of Oates's charges, and the House of Lords refused to join in impeachment proceedings.

Indications multiplied that the great days of Oates were drawing to a close. Since the regular courts could no longer be depended on for convictions, Oates's supporters demanded that Lord Stafford, who had just been denounced, be tried by the peers of the realm. Arraigned for high treason, Stafford was found guilty. His execution was the last of the thirty-seven deaths for which Oates was directly responsible. The number of persons he had made lose their reputation and livelihood is beyond all reckoning. In the eyes of many he remained the savior of his country as long as he lived, but he lost his power when Charles II obtained a pension from the French king which made it unnecessary for him to summon any more Parliaments. Deprived of Parliamentary support, Oates was permanently deflated.

First his salary was reduced; then payments were cut off entirely, and he was forbidden to appear at court. To his grief he was now called Mr. Oates, the falsity of his claim to a doctorate having finally been exposed. He thoroughly enjoyed defending himself when on the accession of James II he was tried for perjury. Found guilty, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, varied by annual appearances in the pillory. Before starting his imprisonment he suffered two "floggings at the cart's tail"—the first from Aldgate to Newgate, the second from Newgate to Tyburn. The whipping was so severe that only for the first few minutes could he bandy words with the crowd. That he survived the experience of the second day was considered incredible.

When the Glorious Revolution came in 1688 he was freed, and William III granted him an interview. He petitioned the House of Lords for reversal of his sentence. There were long arguments in the Lords about the matter, although jurists pronounced the sentence illegal. The prevailing opinion apparently was that of the wit who said since the man had been whipped from Aldgate to Tyburn, let the sentence be reversed and him be whipped from Tyburn to Aldgate.

The King finally pardoned him and granted him a weekly pension, but the savor was gone out of his life, for his sentence stood. As a convicted perjurer, he could never again appear as a witness in a court of law. He was also permanently barred from the practice of his priestly calling, and his last formal appearance in court was as an offender, for when an old lady asked by him what right he wore clerical garb he hit her over the head with his cane. He paid his fine, and is last heard of discoursing to an admiring audience in a coffee house.

KASHANI OF IRAN

Master of Intrigue . . *by Dan Kurzman*

WHEN the youthful, idealistic Shah Pahlevi triumphantly stepped from the plane that he piloted back to Tehran last August after a week's exile abroad, he told his welcoming supporters as they fell at his feet to kiss his boots: "You, the people, have brought me back. I will never let you down." The well-meaning monarch, bubbling over with good-will, was certain that he saw the collective beaming face of "the people" mirrored in the shine of his highly polished boots. But it was a trick image. His return to the throne was not brought about by a people's revolution. Premier Mossadegh was overthrown by a mob of soldiers and professional rioters in no way representative of the majority of Iranians.

Today the same professional rioters are active, but they have changed their slogan. It is no longer, "Long Live the Shah!" but "Death to the Shah!" Only the traditionally royalist army, the one group whose rebellion against Mossadegh was really spontaneous, remains loyal to the throne. And all its guns, tanks, and bayonets may not be enough to shield the royal ruler or his Premier, General Fazollah Zahedi, from a determined assassin's bullet.

Zahedi, Mossadegh's bitterest and most powerful military enemy, was undoubtedly the logical choice to lead a government that owes its existence to the army. Nevertheless, the Shah could hardly have selected a man held in lower esteem by the impoverished masses. They have not forgotten that this opportunist, while commander of the Isfahan military district during the war, pocketed a fortune in bribes squeezed from people who were unable to obtain bread without his permission. The Premier is well aware of this hostility. He realizes that his government is doomed to an early death unless he bolsters the bankrupt Iranian economy with an oil transfusion. Revenue from a revived petroleum industry, he has promised the skeptical populace he once exploited, will be used to implement the Shah's economic and social program.

Thus, the unpredictable Zahedi, who collaborated with the Nazis during the war and helped Mossadegh kick the British out of Iran in 1951, feels that an oil agreement with the West is the side his political bread is now buttered on. A preliminary accord has already been reached whereby an international consortium, including the once ousted Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and several American oil firms, would produce and market Persian oil, using the World Bank as an operational "front" to appease Iranian super-nationalists.

But Zahedi has been caught in a dangerous dilemma. He has discovered that

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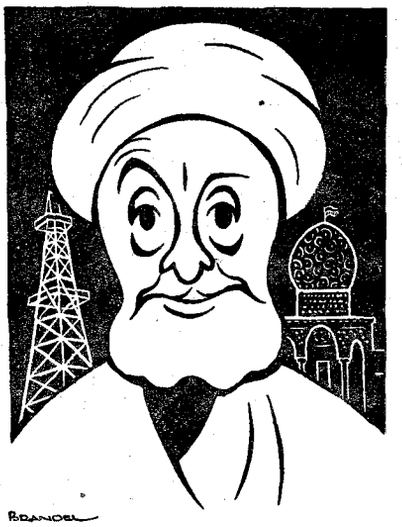
the super-nationalists cannot be appeased. If his chances of remaining in power long without an oil agreement are slim, his chances of escaping assassination should he follow through with such an accord may be even slimmer. Nevertheless, pressed on the one hand by the Shah, who is determined to help his people with oil revenue, and on the other hand by his wealthy fellow-landlords, who are determined to help themselves with this revenue, he is expected to gamble on his luck and conclude an agreement with the West very soon.

Zahedi's Western-oriented policies have already cost him the support of the powerful street mobs that helped overthrow Mossadegh. Even more ominously, the leader of these gangs, a cunning, self-styled religious fanatic named Mullah Ayatollah Kashani, has marked the Shah and the Premier for death. This Moslem chief once described himself as "one of the most powerful men in the world." He may have been exaggerating, but certainly few men in recent history have made and broken so many governments in so violent a manner.

A MASTER of intrigue and assassination, this white-bearded, turbaned dwarf—with the help of the Communists—made an abortive attempt on the Shah's life in February, 1949. Two years later a gunman under his orders murdered the pro-British Premier Haj Ali Razmara and set off the nationalist powder-keg in Iran and throughout the Middle East. During the first two years of Mossadegh's reign Kashani forced the Premier to take extreme measures—including the severance of diplomatic relations—against the British, although the weepy old man might have agreed on oil terms if he had not been subjected to such pressure. When Mossadegh finally decided to defy Kashani's ultimatums, Kashani switched his support to the Shah, joining with mutinous army units to overthrow the Premier. Now, as might have been predicted, the unreasoning religious fanatic and his mobs have turned against the monarch for his dealings with the West, which he hates less for its record of oil exploitation than for its progressive influence. His aim is to reestablish in Iran a complete theocracy. Ultimately, he hopes to turn the whole Moslem world into a medieval stronghold of anti-West sentiment.



Mullah Ayatollah Kashani

The fact that government leaders only recently made a special effort to convince newsmen that Kashani is an unimportant factor in Iran underscores their fear of him. They have made no attempt to jail him and probably never will, though he has openly threatened to assassinate them.

Perhaps the gravest danger to the government today lies in the strong possibility that Kashani will woo his old friends the Communists, who share his ideological hatred of the West, contradictory though their extremist philosophies may be. The Communists have already joined him in demonstrating against the government's renewal of diplomatic ties with Britain. It is very likely that they would prefer an alliance with Kashani to their present fragile bond with Mossadegh's leaderless street mobs. Kashani's robot-like, politically ignorant followers have fewer qualms than the pro-Mossadegh elements about dealing with the devil and therefore make more dependable partners in a riot. Moreover, many Reds have a tie with the Kashani supporters through being products of the same environment—the mud huts and caves of Iran's disease-ridden slum areas. The choice between religious and Communist fanaticism was in most cases simply a matter of whose promises conjured up the more enchanting fantasies.

On the other hand, Mossadegh's mobs, whose bitterness toward the West is based purely on nationalist rather than ideological grounds, fully appreciate the Communist danger. They joined in a loose alliance with the Reds only when the Premier was desperately grasping at any straw to halt the rapid disintegration of his regime that followed the cessation of American aid and his abandonment by Kashani, army leaders, and other powerful cliques. Actually, Mossadegh's strength was—and still is, though he is serving a three-year prison sentence—based on far more than the missile-wielding power of his street supporters. The mobs are only one manifestation of his popularity. His real strength lies in the hearts of the silent masses of little people with no stomach for hysterical shouting or skull-cracking.

The fanatically nationalist Mossadegh is disdainfully looked upon as a clown and a fool in the West. In Iran he has represented to most citizens with no political or religious ax to grind a sort of mortal Messiah. He filled them with an exaggerated sense of national pride. He nourished their long dormant ego. That he also plunged the country into economic chaos did not matter to most Iranians, whose living standards never rose above a bare subsistence level even when oil was gushing from the wells.

Mossadegh's collapse under political and economic pressures of his own making did not mean that the people suddenly turned against him. Governments in Iran have always been created and destroyed by small, powerful minority groups. The people are never consulted. But if other deposed leaders are forgotten as fast as they fall, Mossadegh—the first really popular hero in recent Iranian history—has not been forgotten.

By contrast, the Shah's timid personality and pro-British background have stimulated something less than adoration among his subjects. They appreciate his good intentions, as reflected in such acts as the distribution of his royal lands to the peasants, but even this mild affection has been on the wane since Mossadegh's defeat at his hands. Thus the ex-Premier, though absent from the scene, is still a thorn in the Shah's side.

ZAHEDI is doing his best to head off the trouble brewing over the oil issue. The army and police are making sure that only government supporters shall win seats in Parliament, in an election as farcical as Mossadegh's referendum last June, which gave the ex-Premier more than 99 per cent of the vote. Key followers of Mossadegh and Kashani are being watched. Communists are being

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jailed by the dozen. The government may yet win through.

But will the Iranian people? Even if the oil does start flowing again, it is not at all certain whether revenues would be used to raise the living standards of the impoverished many or to pad the bank accounts of the wealthy few, as in the past. The weak-fibered Premier is already under tremendous pressure from the landlords, who are determined to sabotage the Shah's reform program. It may be left to the ruler himself to push his program through. But to do this, he must assert a leadership he has not exhibited thus far.

It has been reported that Zahedi has demanded direct control over the army, a traditional prerogative of the throne, and has threatened to resign if he does not get it. As in a similar dispute with Mossadegh, the Shah is said to have refused. It is to be hoped that he will continue to do so. With an army of proved reliability under his personal direction he is in a position to exert enormous pressure wherever needed in the struggle he has pledged against poverty and the extremist ideologies it breeds. He should not hesitate to use this power, for without accompanying reforms an oil settlement on any terms would represent a brutal betrayal of the people.

AD MEN IN THE KREMLIN

The Bishop Was Wrong . . *by Milton Moscowitz*

"ADVERTISING," according to Bishop Fulton J. Sheen as quoted in *Advertising Age*, "is a phenomenon peculiar to democracy. It cannot exist in Soviet Russia. Stalin had no need for it. Malenkov has no need for it. They have nothing to sell." Bishop Sheen speaks with such an air of authority that one hesitates to contradict him. But although he may not be aware of it, Russia is today showing a great interest in advertising. Over the past six or seven months the Soviet press has contained a number of long articles and reports of speeches on a topic dear to the American business man's heart—how to improve distribution and increase sales. A journal entirely devoted to business developments has even made its appearance.

This new interest in marketing techniques flows from the Malenkov government's emphasis on consumer-goods production. Some remarkable goals have been set by the Soviet leaders. By 1955 retail trade is to be 70 per cent over the 1950 level. Meat production is to be double, also the clothing output. For the first time specific target figures have been set for a wide range of products. The annual output of television sets is to be increased from the present 100,000 to 1,000,000 in 1955—one for every two hundred citizens; of refrigerators, from 60,000 to 330,000—one for every six hundred; of vacuum cleaners, from 100,000 to 500,000—one for every four hundred. The goal for meat is 2,500,000 tons in 1955, 3,000,000 tons in 1956; for sausages, 850,000 tons in 1955, 1,000,000 tons in 1956; for butter, 560,000 tons in 1955, 650,000 tons in 1956; for canned vegetables, 4,100,000,000 cans in 1956; for confectionary, 1,825 tons in 1955.

But perhaps the most dramatic example of Soviet interest in the consumer was the appearance on the retail market a few weeks ago of "Sovietski visky," which the New York *Times* correspondent described as "not at all a bad Scotch." This is the first time the vodka-drinking Russians have distilled a whiskey.

Advertising comes into the picture because Soviet officials have recently been bitterly critical of existing marketing practices, complaining that the whole trade apparatus is sluggish and unresponsive to the consumer's needs. More and better advertising is being proposed to stimulate consumer demand.

Anastas Mikoyan, Minister of Trade, told a meeting of shop managers recently that Russian advertising was "dull, stereotyped, and inflexible." "It should be kept in mind," he said, "that under competitive conditions, because of growing sales difficulties, bourgeois countries have developed good methods of organizing trade . . . skilful means of serving customers." He advised Soviet industrialists, therefore, to study these "capitalist sales methods" and "to utilize whatever is useful to us." He said Russian advertising must become more imaginative to attract consumers. And he specifically called for "a large-scale advertising campaign to inform and instruct customers." *Pravda* devoted three full pages to Mr. Mikoyan's talk.

A withering attack on shoddy service to the consumer has accompanied these economic precepts. Store salesmen are "rude." Bakers make "sour bread" with burned crusts. Soviet citizens have to bring their own containers to get caviar, cream cheese, or jam. All bicycles produced at the Gorky works were the same color—red. A clothing-store manager had reported that he was sent trousers in one size only. The humorous magazine *Krokodil* sent two reporters on a hundred-mile bus journey to expose the poor service to which passengers were subjected. In the Uzbek Republic an inspection of 4,000 shops, canteens, and

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depots revealed various irregularities in 2,302 of them, including 319 cases of cheating the customer.

To oil the creaky joints of retail trade, the government is introducing various improvements—among them bigger, cleaner, more efficient stores. In the next three years 40,000 new shops and 11,000 catering establishments will be opened —including launderettes and big self-service groceries. On last Christmas eve a giant department store—the largest in Europe—was opened in Moscow's Red Square opposite the Kremlin. A government office building was vacated to make room for this Russian "Macy's."

In the current drive to raise the people's standard of living it is interesting to note that the products to be more widely distributed are not only bread-and-butter items. The Soviet masses have been promised more potato peelers, bread slicers, cameras, watches, pots and pans, ing machines, and TV sets. Mr. points out—like the American a ments—that more gadgets will e the housewife from "petty ping which dulls and humiliat

Development of capital industry has always had priority in the Soviet Union —and still does today. But the government is now releasing some of the country's productive power in the interests of higher consumption. Heavy-industry plants are being switched over to consumer-goods production. The defense industry is going to make bicycles and metal bedsteads. Shoe factories are being opened in Baku and Stalingrad. A silk mill has begun production in Kiev. Mr. Zotov, Minister of Food Production, has announced a three-year program for the erection of 50 meat-processing factories, 25 sugar refineries, 372 bakeries, 700 dairies, 24 fat and butter factories, 50 vegetable-canning plants, and 12 margarine factories.

This reorientation of production explains why the Russians are now boning up on advertising. Production is one thing. Distribution on a mass scale is a science by itself, particularly when it involves introduction of new products like canned peas or washing machines. Already changes in methods can be noted. Moscow stores have held "sales" for the first time in their history. They are staying open later. Mail-order business has increased. Soviet magazines are sporting colorful ads for soaps, wines, cocoa, travel tours, and car insurance. Prominent on all the ads is the line: "Price reduced since April, 1953." The era of the Soviet salesman may be at hand.

EXPORT—AND DIE

The One-Product Dilemma . . *by Claudio Veliz*

London

THE economic discussions at Caracas highlighted the need of underdeveloped countries for protection against wild fluctuations in the prices of raw materials which are often their chief source of income. The same subject is considered in a larger framework in two important documents published some weeks before the opening of the Inter-American Conference. One is a U. N. report entitled Commodity Trade and Economic Development; the other is the Randall commission's report on United States foreign economic policy. While the Randall report is devoted mainly to tariff questions, it includes a section on commodity price agreements.

The two documents express diametrically opposite views. The Randall commission, urging a laissez faire policy, condemns both price agreements and stockpiling as impairing "the elasticity of economic adjustment and the freedom of individual initiative." The U. N. experts insist that "if agreements covering a fair number of commodities could be achieved, it would benefit many underdeveloped countries directly and all trading countries indirectly."

It may be said at once that the policy urged by the Randall commission has been in effect, more or less, for the last half-century and has obviously failed to solve the problem. Indeed, the authors of the U. N. report read recent history as showing that it is impossible to maintain a healthy world economy, or even a healthy United States economy, when many countries suffer from chronic inflation and when underdeveloped areas are unable to increase significantly their buying power and hence to carry out programs for economic development.

The underdeveloped countries to which the U. N. report refers are similar enough in their basic economic features to stand a bit of generalization. A country of this type usually depends to a great extent upon the exportation of one or a very few primary commodities. The proceeds, usually in the form of dollars, from the sale of these commodities make up a considerable part of its national income. Bolivia's tin exports, for example, form 90 per cent of the total value of its exports, which in turn provide 57 per cent of Bolivia's national income. In Venezuela, oil forms more than 98 per cent of the total exports, and over 70 per cent of the national income comes from these exports. Chile's exports of copper and nitrate of soda form more than 80 per cent of the total value of its exports, and the proceeds from these exports provide 27 per cent of Chile's national income. According to the U. N. report, in seven countries two commodities formed more than 90 per cent of the total value of exports in 1952, and in thirty-two countries two commodities formed more than 50 per cent of the total value.

The impression, highly popular in the financial circles of the United States and Great Britain, that underdeveloped countries have depended heavily upon

CLAUDIO VELIZ, a Chilean economist, is now studying at the London School of Economics.

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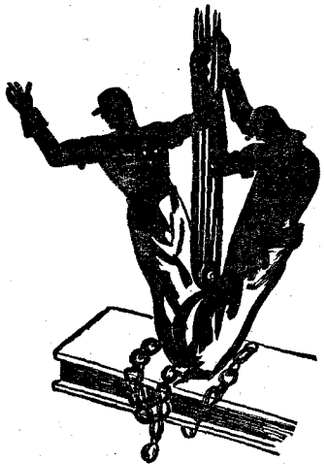
foreign investments to finance their development programs is quite false, especially so in the post-war period. For example, the U. N. experts give the total proceeds of Chile's exports in 1950 as $298,000,000 (U. S.) and the total long-term foreign-capital investment in the country as $2,000,000. The true insignificance of this last figure is shown by the fact that Chile's debt services in that year amounted to nearly $60,000,000. After examining several such cases, the U. N. group concluded that post-war long-term capital movements into underdeveloped areas have been small in relation to export proceeds and have been largely offset by the payments for debt services.

The U. N. group's study of the price variations of fifteen commodities during the period 1920 to 1939 showed that the spread between high and low averaged 32 per cent. A similar study of eleven commodities for the period 1901-50 showed an average variation of 27 per cent. The Indonesian ambassador to the United States, Moekarto Notowidigdo, has noted that in the last three years the prices of tin and rubber, which furnish his country with nearly two-thirds of its annual foreign earnings, have varied 250 and 350 per cent respectively. Tin was selling for 77.8 cents per pound in June, 1950; $1.83 in February, 1950; and is about 85 cents today. Rubber rose from 31 cents in June, 1950, to 73 cents in February, 1951, and has since dropped to approximately 20 cents.

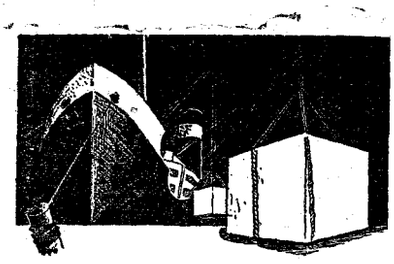
The first effect of a fall in the price of the exports of an underdeveloped country is the reduction of imports, usually of the non-essential, durable consumer goods which make up a large portion of United States exports to such a country—automobiles, refrigerators, radios, toasters, and the like. If the fall in price continues, the importation of more vital items begins to be curtailed—fuel, raw materials, spare parts, and so on—and the whole economy slows down. Eventually, the country adopts a rigid system of import licensing and exchange controls and borrows money abroad to be able to buy some of the more necessary articles. The Export-Import Bank's explanation for a $12,000,000 loan to Chile in 1950 is illuminating. "The loan was extended," it said, "to enable Chile to maintain essential imports in the face of . . . falling copper prices." Moreover, when receipts from exports fall, the governments of the underdeveloped countries also find themselves in budgetary difficulties and have to issue new money to meet their deficits. This starts the inflationary train rolling.



Contrary to the contention of the "free enterprise" advocates, violent upswings of prices do not compensate for the downward plunges. Unexpected revenue from a price boom in the commodity market does not make steady economic development possible. Such revenue is largely spent on the purchase of consumer goods for the rising middle classes, eager for luxury articles.

USUALLY a prolonged decline in an underdeveloped country's foreign purchases is alleviated by loans and grants from the United States. These loans are the equivalent of a subsidy to United States exporters. Unfortunately, unless they are specifically earmarked for investment in enterprises that will not increase the dependence of underdeveloped economies on the production of one or two primary commodities, they may well contribute to the widening of the dollar gap instead of bridging it.

One of the most commonly proposed solutions for the problem is the industrialization of the raw-material-producing countries. However, only a few of them can realistically undertake industrialization in the immediate future. Most of them lack the resources, financial and human, for such a project. Even countries in which industrialization might be possible soon find that any program for comprehensive economic development is at the mercy of the very price fluctuations whose effect it was designed to alleviate.



Attempts to finance economic development with foreign capital have in the past encountered two big snags: first, as was shown above, foreign long-term capital has not been forthcoming during the post-war period; and second, the capital that has found its way into underdeveloped areas has been usually invested in the production of primary commodities, thereby emphasizing the distortion of the economy instead of helping to solve it. In some of these countries magnificent installations for the extraction of minerals exist side by side with the most primitive methods of tillage and domestic industry.

Countries that are not in a position to industrialize in the immediate future can only maintain or improve the standard of living of their people by measures to assure a stable and remunerative price for their products. The Gold Coast, for instance, though it is planning hydroelectric plants and aluminum factories, depends almost exclusively upon the sale of cocoa in the world market. After the war a Cocoa Marketing Board was set up to handle the production of Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

The planting of new cocoa trees had practically ceased during the war, and a disease that spread through West Africa had destroyed many thousands of old trees. These facts, coupled with the tremendously increased demand for cocoa products that accompanied the return of prosperity, pushed the price of cocoa very high. As a result cocoa-buying interests in the United States accused the Marketing Board of "cartel-like" activities. It was a ridiculous accusation, but it showed how the attempts of commodity producers to stabilize prices will be received in the major buying countries. The Marketing Board buys the cocoa crop from the producers at a fixed price and sells it in the world

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market to the highest bidder. So far the board has been getting a higher price than was expected, and the extra amount is being saved as a buffer against the contingency of lower prices. Part of it has been used for research in cocoa-tree diseases and improved methods of cultivation.

Some economists in the United States, chiefly those in government circles, have proposed that underdeveloped countries should "specialize" in the production of primary commodities instead of trying to compete with the more efficient industrialized nations in selling manufactured articles. This suggestion is valid for countries that for reasons of soil and climate cannot possibly diversify their economy. But those that can diversify should do so, if only to insure themselves against the very real chance that discovery of a substitute may drive their single primary product from the market.

Many producers of primary commodities believe the solution lies in the expansion of the market for these commodities. A great part of the world's production of raw materials is under the control of monopolies that face no effective competition. Since the cold war started to thaw, several underdeveloped countries have made attempts to open markets for their products behind the Iron Curtain. In 1953 Chile, Argentina, and Bolivia tried to initiate trade relations with the U. S. S. R., but only Argentina succeeded, perhaps because it enjoys a degree of independence from the United States's economic influence.

Underlying the U. N. report's proposals is the conviction that the problem calls for "immediate, effective, and coordinated action" on the part of the governments concerned. Multilateral and unilateral agreements are recommended in specific cases of single commodities or groups of commodities. The advantages of contra-cyclical lending and the use of buffer stocks are explained in detail. After reviewing various suggested solutions, the report concludes that these are at best only partial measures, and that to assure both stability and economic progress more drastic action must be taken, including a reexamination of the world's monetary system.

It is undeniable that any method of stabilizing prices is only a postponement of a more general and permanent solution. This is a problem that must be considered from an international point of view: the solution must assure all countries that they will not be condemned to a low standard of living and permanent insecurity because they happen to produce large quantities of a single commodity.

Randall Report Criticized

After a conference at Princeton University, seventeen distinguished United States economists criticized the Randall commission's report on American foreign economic policy as "inadequate" and failing to enlighten the American people "as to their international responsibilities and opportunities." The economists noted that a "serious omission of the report was its failure to discuss, more than incidentally, the question of whether the United States should be concerned with the attempts to facilitate the economic development of the so-called underdeveloped areas."

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

Eastland Meets His Match . . . *by Alfred Maund*

New Orleans

A ROAD SHOW of the Jenner Red-hunting troupe made its Dixie debut here on March 18. It had an all-star marquee, including Aubrey Williams, former director of the National Youth Administration; Clifford Durr, who served for many years as a member of the Federal Communications Commission; his wife, Virginia Durr, the sister-in-law of Justice Hugo Black; and Myles Horton, head of the Highlander Folk School. These persons were linked together tenuously in an investigation of the alleged "Communist activities" of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Since the S. C. E. F. is an organization dedicated to ending racial segregation, the show looked like a box-office "natural."

ALFRED MAUND writes frequently for The Nation *on civil-liberties issues in the South.*

But as much as any show of its kind can flop in this day, it flopped. The failure was due in part to circumstances beyond the subcommittee's control. The McCarthy-army row hogged the front pages the week before the hearings, spoiling any proper build-up. *L'affaire Schine* provoked deprecating editorials and cartoons about "guilt by association" that could apply as well to the Jenner as to the McCarthy subcommittee. As a result, a front-page item in one paper that a "high-ranking ex-Red" was going to be a witness had to yield in a later edition to "Nixon Warns Against Loose Talk by Red Hunters."

More important, the S. C. E. F. countered the subcommittee's pre-circus releases with great vigor. Dr. James A. Dombrowski, its executive director, published a complete record of its activities, which showed, he pointed out, that "since its establishment in 1945, the S. C. E. F. has devoted it energies exclusively to the abolishment of racial segregation and discrimination in the South." Thirty-one Negro leaders from a dozen Southern states addressed an open letter to Jenner calling the investigation "an attack upon the Negro community" and urging him to cancel the hearings "with appropriate apologies to those individuals whose names have been sullied in the press." The signers included Mary McLeod Bethune and several newspaper editors. Aubrey Wil-

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liams, president of the Fund, and Dombrowski met for two hours with the press and revealed any personal departures from orthodoxy which the probers might be saving for mud-balls. These tactics brought from Richard Arens, committee counsel, the sour complaint that Communists always "attack . . . when we come to town and open an investigation." Arens, who says he wrote the McCarran-Walter immigration act, promised "restrained, orderly, nonsensational hearings."

BUT what let the show down worst was the caliber of its ringmaster and its moth-eaten animal acts. Although McCarran, Welker, and McClellan were variously announced as coming to direct the performance, only Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi appeared. Up for reelection this year and facing a tough opponent in Lieutenant Governor Carroll Gartin, he doubtless figured he could use the headlines. The S. C. E. F., however, reminded the public that Eastland had declared on the floor of the Senate in 1945: "The Negro soldier was a dismal and utter failure. He was a disgrace to the flag of his country. . . . He will not fight. He will not work."

A brace of professional talking birds bore the burden of the subcommittee's case—Paul Crouch, the "high-ranking ex-Red," and a lesser renegade, one John Butler of Dallas. Crouch billed himself to the press as one who helped convict Harry Bridges (the conviction has since been reversed). He did not mention his spectacularly unsuccessful attempt to smear Mrs. Leon Keyserling, wife of the noted economist.

This crew was outclassed. Eastland was obviously unnerved by the courage and frankness of the members and supporters of the S. C. E. F. Dombrowski, despite vicious harassing, gave Eastland gentle lectures on the right of dissent and the quality of mercy. At a point when the probers, seeing that things had gone against them, sought to retire to executive sessions Horton forced them to give him an open hearing; he was ejected later for trying to read a statement into the record. Williams dared Butler to repeat his testimony "out in the hall," but Butler declined to waive immunity and risk a slander suit.

Eastland's weakness at the helm created one bizarre incident. After Williams had testified—refusing, as did Dombrowski, to submit the names of contributors to the Fund—the Senator said Williams's "cooperation" had earned him the right to cross-examine Crouch. Durr, who was originally present only as Williams's counsel, immediately began to draw from Crouch the tale of his long and checkered career. When Durr asked Crouch if he could prove he was no longer a Communist, Arens came to the rescue by asking, "Is Mr. Durr a Communist?" Crouch quickly replied, "I don't know if he still is or not," and started to recount some vague "recollections." Durr then asked to be sworn as a witness and proceeded to deny the allegations, demanding that a perjury investigation be instituted.

Mrs. Durr, after telling the press, "I wish to state that I do not recognize the power of this committee to try me as a traitor. . . . I refuse to submit to the authority of this committee and I stand in total and utter contempt of it," answered only questions as to whether she was a Communist or "under party discipline." To all others she replied, "I am standing mute." Taking advantage of her silence and of her kinship to Justice Black, Crouch was emboldened to stretch his memory. When he declared that she had been aware of the operations of a pre-war Communist espionage ring, Durr rushed over to strike him. The effort brought on a collapse that sent him to the hospital.

AT THE conclusion of the hearings Arens asked the newsmen covering them if the subcommittee had not proved its case. They said it had not, and forced him to apologize for the quality of the informers he had mustered. Eastland told Fred Anderson of the Montgomery *Advertiser*, "I don't believe Williams or the Durrs are Communists." Anderson polled nine reporters on the question: "From what you have heard here who do you think represents the greatest threat to the American way of life?" Eastland received four votes, Crouch two, Arens one, and Dombrowski one.

Eastland was vague about what contempt citations he would seek from the full committee but promised that a "task force" would conduct further hearings in Birmingham in June. Behind such persistence may lie a long-range strategy thought up by Jenner-style Republicans and Eastland-style Democrats. First, they may hope to fish up enough derogatory material to put the defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare, parent organization of the S. C. E. F., on the Attorney General's list. In the period 1938-45 the Southern Conference enlisted the support of prominent Democrats from the President down. Its posthumous condemnation would be a useful political bludgeon in the hands of the G. O. P.

Secondly, the Dixiecrats, losing the battle of racism in the courts, may have turned to McCarthyism to intimidate decent white Southerners who might make common cause with the Negro. Although half of the S. C. E. F.'s board and two of its officers are Negroes, no Negroes were subpoenaed. The failure to do so reflected the strength of Negro voters but also may have been an effort to convince the Southern public that white persons who seek racial integration are isolated "Reds." It would not be far-fetched to assume that the attack on Mrs. Durr, who had not been associated with the S. C. E. F. since 1950, was a crude attempt to get Justice Black to excuse himself in the impending Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools.

If the Jenner subcommittee is allowed to continue its hearings in the South—after New Orleans, Birmingham, then Miami, then Atlanta—efforts to effect an orderly end to segregation will be greatly hampered. The S. C. E. F. is a small organization. Its annual budget, dependent on voluntary contributions, is around $25,000—just about what the investigation must have cost the taxpayers of the country. But it is a rallying point in the South for liberal white churchmen, educators, physicians, students, and local citizen groups. If it is destroyed by false charges of conspiracy or subversion, it will not be readily replaced as a spokesman for the silent fluid South.

But perhaps time is running against the plotters. As Aubrey Williams said, "Americans are inherently decent and deeply committed to the right of dissent. They are fiercely independent, and when enough of them have had their characters questioned and their reputations challenged and have had their rights trampled on, they will rise and put a stop to these things."

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BOOKS

"The Quintessence of Harvard"

SCENES AND PORTRAITS. Memories of Childhood and Youth. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.50.

By Maxwell Geismar

IT IS entertaining to note that this volume of Van Wyck Brooks's reminiscences has been praised by the critics who were most disdainful about "Makers and Finders." Even Lionel Trilling, who has recently advocated the master-and-apprentice system of teaching the arts—or should one say lord-and-serf?—as a new instance of the liberal imagination in our time, yes, even Mr. Trilling has kind words for the new volume, while declaring that Brooks "abdicated" the leadership of the modern movement in the United States.

Is this true? In plain fact Brooks has come out squarely against the reactionary tendencies which dominate literary criticism today and limit its range from cults to snobs. Moreover, "Scenes and Portraits" does much to illuminate the genesis of his own major books and of his present literary position. The key chapter is that on Harvard from 1904 to 1907—the great age of William James, of Babbitt, Copeland, and Kittredge, of the Henry James lectures. "The orotund voice of the great panjandrum rolled like an organ through a hall that could scarcely contain the aura of his presence," Brooks says in one of these brief, sparkling sketches. For Harvard was a center of "culture," maybe even more than of creativeness, and amid its curiously inhuman "humanism" Brooks refused to be taken in by "the shameless ascendancy of the god Aesthetics," or by what he calls the feline cynicism of Santayana's famous sense of beauty. "As if in the nature of things the post-Catholic reactionary was better than the post-Protestant believer in mankind."

MAXWELL GEISMAR is the author of the recently published "Rebels and Ancestors," the third volume of his series on American novelists. He is a contributing editor of The Nation.

In fact, when you added up these academic strains—"the royalism and the classicism, the Anglo-Catholicism, the cults of Donne and Dante, the Sanskrit, the Elizabethan dramatists, and the French Symbolist poets"—you arrived only at T. S. Eliot, "the quintessence of Harvard." This could be the cruelest verdict yet delivered upon the poet. What Brooks came to realize later was that during this same period, quite apart from the universities, a new American literature was in the process of being born. Meanwhile, seeking his own route to the literary revival he would celebrate, he had wandered to the bohemian quarters and the slums of London and New York.

It was the rebellious Irish painter, John Butler Yeats, the father of the poet, who first turned Brooks's eyes directly upon his native scene. Up to then it had been Europe which always figured in his thoughts, as in the mind of his generation, as "the predestined scene of our real beginnings." At this point, too, Brooks was drawn to the rebels and revolutionaries whom he afterward cherished in his thought, and to the "socialist saints" in the romantic epoch of the 1900's. Even from the dubious Indian anarchist of these pages, Har Dayal, whose memory Nehru cherished with a wan smile, it was not a great step to the American scriptures, as Brooks says, particularly to Melville and Whitman in letters, on which he has based his later social convictions.

I have hardly had time to mention the affectionate portraits of such close friends as Maxwell Perkins, Edward Sheldon, Lee Simonson; or how Brooks can, with a sort of sublime generosity, pay tribute to such an unfortunate figure as Mitchell Kennerley. As in the big books of his series, we get here all the glow of the artist's life without perhaps enough of the writer's conflicts, the drab routine, the sour notes. The style itself is like a wonderfully modulated stream of consciousness that lacks the raw shocks of the reverie. Yet Brooks has his iron convictions which have outlasted the shifting values of a turbulent epoch. He has his satiric moods, his moments of anger or indignation at those influential literary circles which have denounced "the great beliefs that were basic in the history of the country."

By his own account of childhood and youth Brooks is the heir of culture and breeding; in this sense he is perhaps the last great disciple of the genteel tradition in our letters. But what is heroic and admirable in all this is the rejection of his own tradition in favor of the new forces which have appeared in our society since the 1850's. And his affirmation of our central "Western" line of progressive or radical thought extends even to his praise of the "vulgarian immigrant" Dreiser. We know this vein of American thought is at present in eclipse, with both our literary critics and our politicians. When—or perhaps, in more desperate moments, *if*—our mood changes, Brooks will be seen as a major spokesman for our literature who is indifferent to leadership but who has never relinquished his "position." How could he? It is inside himself.

The Scythe

Custom shall not restore
The scythe to its old place,
Not with the selfsame hand,
Nor leave a single trace,
Outside the greenhouse door
Of him who owned this land.

Yet when I look I see
A stooping figure pass
With his low-handled barrow
Trundling a load of grass
Where now the abounding tree
Has lost his flashing shadow.

Within that gloom the bough
Inclines Zacchaeus' keys
Not ready yet to fall.
Lift the scythe's edge to please
His testing hand who now
Remains beyond recall,

Leaning above his blade
Near the long-shadowed sheaves,
Guarded by that true stone
Under the summer leaves
On which an edge is made
When the last light is gone.

VERNON WATKINS

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"One and God Is a Majority"

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CATHOLIC ANARCHIST. By Ammon Hennacy. Catholic Worker Books. $3.

By Ward Moore

"HENNACY, do you think you can change the world?"

"No, but I'm going to make sure it won't change me."

So reports the author of this highly readable autobiography, who might well be Shaw's unreasonable man "on whom all progress depends." Ammon Hennacy, who has been called the American Gandhi and a one-man revolution, allows himself few illusions. Fasting on the anniversaries of Hiroshima, a day longer each year, and any other time the Gandhian weapon seems proper, refusing to pay taxes and picketing the tax-collector, working as a casual farm laborer so that none of his wages may be withheld to support war, distributing anarchist and pacifist literature, publicizing the cause of the Hopi, benevolently taunting the F. B. I. and the forces of law and order ("I don't ask for police protection; I don't need cops to make me good"), Mr. Hennacy tries to follow the I. W. W. preamble and build a new society in the shell of the old, but he never kids himself. He propagandizes, not in hope of success, but in love, because it seems to him the righteous way. If everyone followed his example the millennium would arrive, but Ammon Hennacy hardly expects this to happen. The best he can hope for is to stir an individual here and there, by example, by civil disobedience, by refusal to meet evil with evil. In the meantime, threatened with arrest, he retorts good-naturedly, "I'm not disturbing the peace. I'm disturbing the war."

A conscientious objector in World War I, an old-time Socialist and Wobbly, he is in the classic American tradition of Jefferson, Thoreau, and Debs. His anarchism is practical, not "philosophical"; he does not disdain to bury dead cats or remove other people's rubbish from the highway. He will not vote or pay taxes; neither will he scab or inform on invokers of the Fifth Amendment. Asked how many believed as he did, he answered, "Dorothy Day, Bob Ludlow, and myself; that makes three and maybe there are more. What difference would it make if there were four?"

Until little more than a year ago Mr. Hennacy was satisfied with a vague, eclectic theology which he called "Christian"; in 1952 he was baptized a Catholic. He sees in this conversion no weakening of his rebellion, but whether continued reconciliation between two such forces as Hennacy and the church is possible remains to be seen. Dorothy Day, prime mover in his religious decision, does not offer a parallel case. Miss Day, like St. Francis and others of his company, is larger than the church (I pray she will forgive me for this). Her authority is so manifest that suppression is unthinkable. Hennacy, if the absolutism he has voluntarily accepted should become repugnant to his long-time anarchism, can only break, either with the church or within.

WARD MOORE is the author of "Bring the Jubilee."

New Books in Brief

A Voice of Reason

PROBLEMS OF STABILITY AND PROGRESS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By Quincy Wright. University of California. $5.

"World government is premature and isolation is obsolete. Neither will solve our problems. We are in a small world, from which we cannot escape. . . . We cannot be sure that the world can be made safe for democracy, but we are certain it cannot be unless the democracies see it steadily, see it accurately, and see it whole." These essays are valuable contributions to vision. At Berkeley in May, 1952, Quincy Wright, professor of international law at the University of Chicago, past president of the American and International Political Science associations, and author of the monumental "Study of War," delivered two lectures on peace and security in honor of Hans Kelsen. To these he has wisely added a series of cogent articles, previously published in various journals, on the relation of social science, higher education, law, international organization, and technology to international stability. Taken together, they constitute more of a unity than such a selection might suggest.

Perusal of these pages is a rewarding experience. They embody the best thinking of a sensitive and erudite mind with a rare talent for lucidity and logic. They clarify many aspects of world affairs in the era of cold war. Quincy Wright is less concerned with stating preferences than with analyzing conditions. His amply documented conclusion will command the support of all clear-thinking citizens of good-will: "Complete elimination of either of the great political structures of the world is unlikely, except as a result of a war which might destroy both. Consequently the coexistence of these diverse systems is probable for a long future, and both the United States and the Soviet Union should adjust themselves to that condition."

The Rail Unions' Fight

THE STORY OF LABOR: *THIRTY-THREE YEARS ON RAIL WORKERS' FIGHTING FRONT.* By Edward Keating. Rufus H. Darby Printing Company, Washington, D. C. $3.50.

This book by the editor-emeritus of *Labor,* the highly regarded weekly which some three-quarters of a million rail workers cherish almost as their Bible, is a politico-economic history of events from the close of the Wilsonian era to the advent of Eisenhower. Keating, who retired a little over a year ago, guided the paper from his desk "facing the Capitol" in Washington all during that turbulent era.

Keating's newspaper style ("newspaper English is the only English I know") makes for easy reading but does not allow for deep or prolonged analysis of important issues. Jumping from anecdote to anecdote he touches on the epic rail-union struggles with employers and with Congress for union recognition and a decent wage; on Teapot Dome; on Hoover dalliance during the great depression; on Roosevelt's achievements and alleged mistakes; and on numerous other events. A former

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Congressman himself (from Colorado), Keating does not hesitate to evaluate the public figures he knew—and some of his judgments will be a shock to many of us. Thus while most of his heroes were old-time liberals like "Old Bob" La Follette, George Norris, and Bob Wagner, readers will be dismayed to find Huey Long listed in this category. Citing chapter and verse, Keating calls the Louisiana Kingfish "one of the most maligned men who came to the House or Senate in my time." Another shocker is Pat McCarran, pictured as a faithful friend of labor (McCarran *has* supported progressive rail legislation). There are other instances of rather one-sided devotion to the rail-labor cause, disconcerting but hardly surprising.

The seventy-eight-year-old author closes his lavishly illustrated book with a prophetic warning that under Eisenhower big business is even more firmly and dangerously in control of the government than it was in the days of Harding and Coolidge.

Victorian Rebel

GEORGE GISSING: GRAVE COMEDIAN. By Mabel Collins Donnelly. Harvard. $4.50.

This is the first real biography of an important social novelist who attacked the superficial reforming ideas of his day as vigorously as he attacked the abuses they were intended to correct. Making use of many unpublished letters and diaries left by Gissing, Dr. Donnelly reconstructs the truth about his expulsion from college, his unhappy marriages, and the travails of a writing career burdened by want and illness. Through these experiences Gissing learned of the social evils which infested Victorian civilization and which he described with dogged realism in his novels. Although she does not explore the full dimensions of Gissing's spiritual trials or give more than cursory attention to the ideological aspects of his work, Dr. Donnelly discusses the artistic qualities of the novels with considerable critical acuity, recognizing their faults as well as their great virtues. Her book does not end as well as it begins, for her smooth narration and sensitive criticism are not sustained beyond the seventh chapter. Nevertheless, it makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of a complex and mysterious author.

In the Steele Tradition

COMPANY MANNERS. By Louis Kronenberger. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.

Twelve sharp but good-humored essays on life in the United States as seen by a native who does more than merely grant us our virtues but is unwilling to dismiss vulgarity as either superficial or trivial. By "manners" Mr. Kronenberger means a good deal more than etiquette, something less than morals or institutions: how, for instance, we allow the ideal of slickness to dominate the so-called legitimate theater only a little less obviously than it does the movies; how the taste and methods of the publicity agent infect all departments of life; how we lazily permit TV to become merely "an all-purpose toy for people of all ages." Just because Mr. Kronenberger keeps so closely to "manners" while leaving morals to moralists, sociology to sociologists, and politics to politicians, he is able to be fresh, amusing, and often witty. We have our Bunyans and our Swifts. "Company Manners" belongs more in the tradition of Steele.

Russia Needs More Oil

OIL IN THE SOVIET UNION. By Heinrich Hassmann. Translated from the German with the addition of much new information by Alfred M. Leeston. Princeton. $3.75.

Is an inadequate oil supply the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union? Dr. Hassmann, a noted German oil economist, carefully sets forth the pros and cons of this question and tentatively concludes that Soviet oil resources, supplemented by those of its satellites, are insufficient to allow for an increase in political and economic strength. Consequently, he believes that the Russians may well seek a share of the bountiful petroleum reserves of the Middle East. Unfortunately, his discussion of this possibility, which ignores technical and strategic difficulties, is far too cursory to be of value.

More useful, if rather pedantic, are his sketch of the history of the Russian oil industry and his description of its present state, region by region. Included is an analysis of such statistical material as is available, which indicates that although Soviet oil production in 1950 was four times greater than in 1913, it

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has lagged far behind planned schedules.

Dr. Hassmann presents his findings with apparent objectivity, but how accurate his facts and figures are only the big shots in the Kremlin can say. Some obvious errors must be noted. Thus on page 56 Soviet steel production in 1950 is given as 7,000,000 tons; the correct figure, 27,000,000 appears on an earlier page. This no doubt was a typographical error, but what are we to say to statements in successive paragraphs on page 130 that the American oil industry absorbs one-twelfth and 33 per cent of American steel production! Such carelessness does not inspire confidence.

Modern Wordsworthian

THE DRY SCRATCH OF LAUREL. By Horace E. Hamilton. Twayne Publishers and the University of Kansas City Press. $2.50.

Four poems particularly challenge the reader in this book.

One, Aubade, offers to its poignant theme on lost hours and years the most finely wrought and hence the most arresting structure in the entire collection. The others, Professor Emeritus, Succession, and The Brotherhood, challenge not only because they are good poems but because they, like so much of the poetry of Frost, Dylan Thomas, and the younger English poets, once more document the enduring hold on the best poetic imaginations of those themes that moved the early poets of the romantic movement.

In Professor Emeritus, Mr. Hamilton questions the labor over intellectual truths which has ended in a desire for hill views, "a wall of trees," "a windy lake"—in short for the honorable Wordsworthian fact. In The Brotherhood, which would do credit to anyone's book of poems, Mr. Hamilton gathers the latest refugee and suicide back to man in a regenerative act of sympathy.

Nor is the historical comparison intended to imply anything quaint or worn in Hamilton's handling of these themes. The poet has embellished them with a felt imagery, a sustained understatement, and a wisely disciplined emotional grasp. They are "modern poems" in tone and touch, but Mr. Hamilton knows that part of the heart lives forever in that sort of news from the world that we call "romantic."

Records

B. H. Haggin

A LONDON Oiseau-Lyre record (50012) offers one of Bach's greatest organ works, the Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C, the impressive Prelude and Fugue in E minor, and two works I care less for: the Prelude and Fugue in G and the Schübler Chorale-Prelude *Ach, bleib bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ.* John Eggington's playing on the organ of the Church of Sainte Radegonde, Poitiers, is straightforward but effective, except in the declamatory opening of the Toccata, which seems to me to require some rhetorical heightening for its effect. The performances come off the record with texture a little unclear from reverberation.

On the other hand one of the pleasures of an Overtone record with performances of parts of the "Tabulatura Nova" of Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654) is the clarity of texture with which they are reproduced. Another is the beautiful sound of the Holtkamp Organ in Yale's Battell Chapel. And these increase the pleasure from the unfamiliar music and the fine playing of Luther Noss.

Overtone also has issued two records of old vocal music performed by the Collegium Musicum of Yale's School of Music under Paul Hindemith's direction. On LP-5 are works by Perotin, Dufay, Palestrina, Lassus, Jacob Handl, and Gabrieli—all very lovely and moving, and sung not only with remarkable transparency and beauty of tone but with exciting animation in phrasing and contrapuntal movement. I am in fact not sure it wasn't the superb performance that made Bach's Motet *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied* seem so attractive a piece; but I have no such doubts about the other pieces on LP-4: Monteverdi's famous *Lagrime d'Amante al Sepolcro dell 'Amata,* two madrigals by Gesualdo that amaze one with their bold and strange harmonic progressions, and two lovely madrigals by Weelkes.

WHEN will we find a real CURE for CANCER?

ONE BY ONE, most of man's natural enemies have become only bitter memories.

HOW ABOUT CANCER—?

THE TRUTH is that this terrible disease can *already* be completely cured in about half of the cases . . . *if caught in time.*

THE OTHER HALF can be helped. They cannot yet—be saved.

RESEARCH aimed at a final, complete solution to the cancer problem is proceeding *as fast as available funds permit.* Last year, with the help of $5 million allocated by the American Cancer Society from donations made by Americans everywhere, encouraging progress was made.

BUT "ENCOURAGING PROGRESS" is not enough. More money is needed. After all, $5 million is less than four cents per American *per year.* When your American Cancer Society Volunteer calls on *you,* this year, won't you please try to manage a really *generous* contribution—? A *big* check, if you please . . . it's really *needed!*

Cancer
MAN'S CRUELEST ENEMY
Strike back—Give

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY
GENTLEMEN:
☐ Please send me free information on cancer.
☐ Enclosed is my contribution of $..... to the cancer crusade.
Name.....
Address.....
City.....State.....
Simply address the envelope: CANCER c/o Postmaster, Name of Your Town

or give to your Unit of the American Cancer Society

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On another Overtone record is Alessandro Scarlatti's St. John Passion, written in recitative that is beautiful and moving, and beautifully sung by Blake Stern (the Evangelist), David Laurent (Jesus), James Borden (a too youthful-sounding Pilate), and the Choir of St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, New Haven, in an excellent performance with members of the Yale University Orchestra and Graham George, organist, under Howard Boatwright's direction.

And Oiseau-Lyre (50021/2) offers another fine work by Monteverdi, the Vespers of 1610, extraordinarily varied in its writing, with one section, the "Sonata sopra Sancta Maria, Ora pro Nobis," using the device Berlioz uses in the Offertorium of his Requiem and Juliet's Funeral Procession in "Romeo and Juliet"—of repeating an unchanged vocal figure at intervals in a changing instrumental context. The work is sung beautifully by Margaret Ritchie, Elsie Morison, Richard Lewis, William Herbert, Bruce Boyce, and the London Singers in the excellent performance with the Ensemble Orchestral de L'Oiseau-Lyre, Geraint Jones, organist, and Ruggero Gerlin, harpsichordist, under Anthony Lewis's direction.

The wonderful performance of the Mozart Divertimento K.287 for strings and horns that Toscanini recorded has been withdrawn by Victor, presumably for later reissue on one side of a 12-inch record; and the performance by Prohaska with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra now issued by Vanguard is not an adequate substitute meanwhile. The orchestra and the violin soloist, Jan Tomasow, play well; but the music is without the effect imparted to it by the impetus, tension, and outlining that must come from the conductor; and Prohaska's handling of the Andante passages in the finale is absurd: not only does he play in strict time what is obviously meant to be played with the flexibility of vocal recitative, but this stolidity is made worse by an Adagio tempo instead of the prescribed Andante.

Haydn's Symphony No. 85 ("La Reine") is not very attractive as played in pedestrian manner by a chamber orchestra under Izler Solomon and reproduced by the MGM record. The fine K.P.E. Bach-Steinberg Concerto in D is played better and reproduced more agreeably.

Prokofiev's superb Piano Concerto No. 3 is one of the works that call for precisely what the late William Kapell had as a pianist—intensity, verve, power. These are things Julius Katchen doesn't exhibit in his otherwise excellent performance of the work with L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande under Ansermet, which loses also by the less brilliant European piano and Ansermet's slower tempos. It is, then, a performance which gives effect to the work, but not all the exciting effect of Kapell's performance; but it is of course reproduced with more clarity and spaciousness. On the same London record is Bartok's Piano Concerto No. 3

The Four Sea Interludes and Passacaglia from Britten's "Peter Grimes," which offer some of his most impressive writing, are played superbly by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Van Beinum and reproduced as superbly by the London record. On the reverse side is the engagingly resourceful "Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra."

Hugo Wolf's unfamiliar Quartet is played by the New Music Quartet (Columbia). Except for the rambling first movement the writing is individual, impressive, and engaging; the performance is superb; its recorded sound lacks the beauty of the sound I heard from the group in Town Hall a few months ago and from a Bartok record of Purcell and Locke last spring. On the same Columbia record is Wolf's charming Italian Serenade, played with dazzling brilliance but—for this purpose—much too fast.

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

J. C. Bach: Concerto in C Minor for cello and orchestra; Schuster with Los Angeles Orchestral Society under Waxman (Capitol); mildly interesting music; fair performance; recording badly balanced.

J. S. Bach: French Suites; Isolde Ahlgrimm (Columbia); dull performance.

Sonatas and Partitas for unaccompanied violin; Heifetz (Victor); depressing lack of real distinction and taste with the wonderfully beautiful sound.

Bartok: For Children, Vol. II; Pressler (MGM) attractive pieces, well played for the most part.

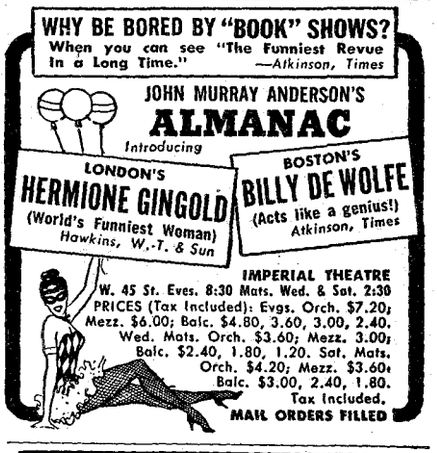
Eight pieces from "Mikrokosmos"; Katchen (London); some very exciting, all well performed. (With Rorem's derivative Sonata No. 2 for piano).

Beethoven: Concerto No. 3 for piano and orchestra; Serkin with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia); the usual violence without power, sentimentality without taste; piano sound glassy.

Concerto No. 5 for piano and orchestra; Ney with Vienna Philharmonic under Bohm (Urania); poor performance and recording.

Brahms: Concerto No. 1 for piano and orchestra; Solomon with the Philharmonic Orchestra under Kubelik (HMV); good performance.

Quartet No. 3 for piano and strings, Op. 60; Szigeti, Katims, Tortelier, Hess (Columbia); in general a very fine per-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formance, but Szigeti always stands out, sometimes through his more powerful inflection, sometimes through bad intonation and exaggerated phrasing.

Quintet No. 2 for strings, Op. 111; Stern, Schneider, Katims, Thomas, Tortelier (Columbia); powerful performance which lacks only the quiet poise of a long-established chamber group like the Budapest Quartet.

Sextet No. 1 for strings, Op. 18; Stern, Schneider, Katims, Thomas, Casals, Foley (Columbia); the same power and the same faint air of commotion as in the Quintet above.

Symphony No. 3; Böhm with the Vienna Philharmonic (London); very good performance in rather heavy style.

Britten: Diversions on a theme for piano (left-hand) and orchestra; Rapp with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin under Rother (Urania); ingenious and entertaining music; good performance.

Songs on texts mostly by Auden; Troxell with Kozma (WCFM); effective settings of the words; oddly shrill and bodiless performance.

Variations on a theme by Frank Bridge; Boyd Neel String Orchestra under Neel (London); aggressive juvenilia; heavy performance; muffled recording. (With Warlock's Capriol Suite)

Dvorak: Symphony No. 2; Kubelik with the Philharmonia Orchestra (HMV); fine performance.

Franck: Quintet in F Minor for piano and strings; Aller with Hollywood Quartet (Capitol); good performance.

Haydn: Concerto in D for cello and orchestra; Fournier with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Kubelik (HMV); performance elegant often to the point of preciosity. (With Cello Encores, including two fine pieces by Fauré, beautifully played.)

Hindemith: Nine English Songs; Troxell with Kozma (WCFM); routine Hindemith; sung with good musicianship in a tiresomely thin voice.

Mahler: Symphony No. 1; Steinberg with Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol); good performance; recording lacks spaciousness.

Mozart: Eine Kleine Nachtmusik; Prohaska with Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard); good performance. (With uninteresting German Dances by Schubert.)

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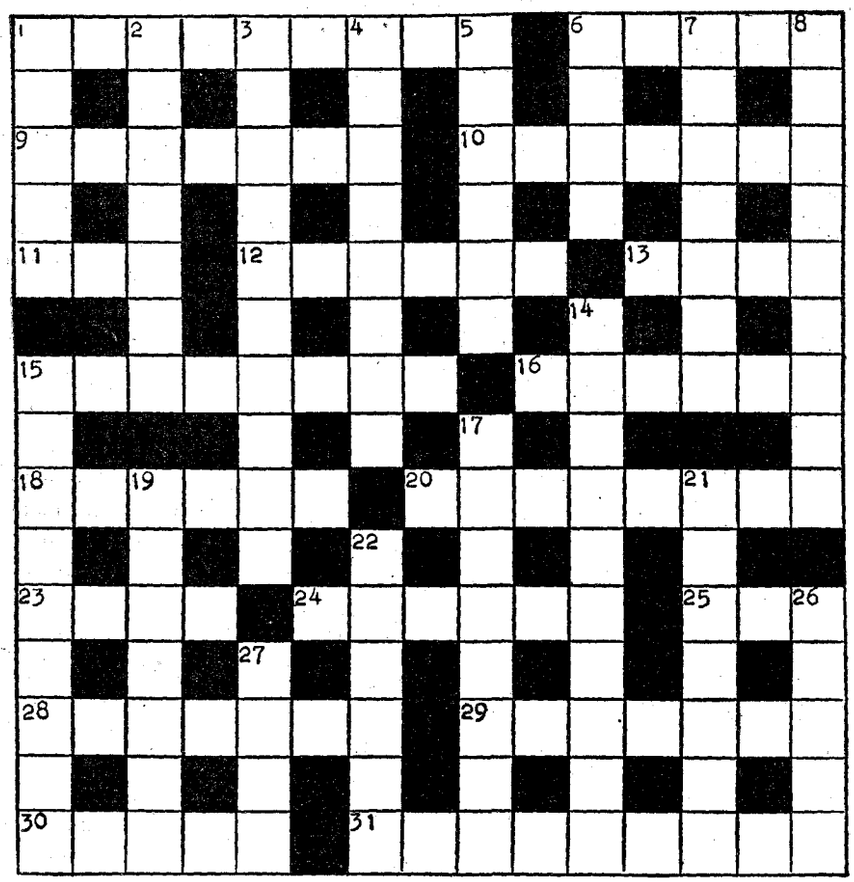
Crossword Puzzle No. 561

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Does Santa, to get the attention of his reindeer? (3–6)
6 See 13 across.
9 Such a courser should be cleaner. (7)
10 This flank should be easily turned; it's aboveboard, too. (7)
11 See 6 down.
12 Usually a pair, like oars! (6)
13, 16 across, and 30. Get to the flowing bowl first? (4, 2, 3, 5)
15 Excommunicate someone from the fraternity? (8)
16 A sort of stopper, if slightly louder. might also be faster. (6)
18 One sort of circle, with part of the circle to shake. (6)
20 Should people be sorry to undergo them? (8)
23 Injured through simplified fractures. (4)
24 See 26 down.
25 Reference seems to imply it's somewhat odoriferous. (3)
28 Paste around stuff on the table. (7)
29 Perhaps a little more than a *soupçon*, but not a lot. (7)
30 See 13 across.
31 Cause a truce? Exposes, rather. (10)

DOWN

1 His first name was Torquato (1544-95). (5)
2 Puts man in his place, perhaps. (7)
3 If subject to this, would one hesitate to accept high office? (10)
4, and 5. Come back by coach (after you reach the end of the line)? (8, 6)
6 and 11 across. Is better than petroleum on the surface! (7)
7 Proverbially right under vessels, sometimes. (7)
8 License to find choice dates? (9)
14 Final fight with a dragon made of it. (10)
15 Reaper-catcher? (9)
17 Not exactly winded, but certainly out of wind. (8)
19 Winds in the desert, now air on air. (7)
21 Like a basket for Welsh salt. (Jim Hawkins used one.) (7)
22 Real title of the self-appointed admiral of the Hispaniola. (6)
26 and 24 across. Symbolized by X^2? (5, 6)
27 Shelley implied it desired the star. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 560

ACROSS:—6, 1 and 20 down FAIR WEAR AND TEAR; 10 AVATARS; 11 BLOTTED; 12 BASSINET; 13 ANNAM; 15 ARENA; 19 HEADDRESS; 21 NORMA; 23 ORDER; 24 TEAROOMS; 27 REEFERS; 28 TWITTER; 29 SARI; 30 LADYFISHES.

DOWN:—3 and 2 WHAT'S IN A NAME; 4 INSENSATE; 5 HABIT; 7 ANTONYM; 8 RUDIMENTAL; 9 and 1 across JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT; 14 WASHBOARDS; 16 ANDERSEN; 18 DISTANTLY; 22 REMATCH; 24 TOSCA; 25 ORIBI; 26 and 17 ARMS AND THE MAN.

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